22: Hamy--388-389 (No date) 1873 Jivaro
116, 174

"Is it not possible to go farther and to connect, with the aid of these notes published by the voyagers whom we have named, all these Indians with one or another of the large ethnic groups identified in [389] South America? The elements of diagnosis taken from physical characteristics, which we always give the same place in the study of human groups, are almost completely lacking; but the solution which anatomic anthropology denies us, ethnography and linguistics are in a position to furnish us to almost complete satisfaction.

If, in fact, the outward traits of these savages, such as we have, are insufficiently detailed, we see that the names they carry are of Guarani origin, and we note among them the existence of rather numerous ethnigraphic traits which relate them to the same Americans."

22: Hamy--390 (No date) 1873 Jivaro
116, 197, 174

"The Jivaro language, completely different from all the neighboring languages, clear and harmonious, expressive, energetic, would be easy to learn according to Villavicencio, particularly difficult, on the contrary, according to Father Pozzi, because of the uncertain pronunciation, and where the aspirated letters play a large part .... We know nothing of this language except the proper names; but the comparison of these names with the geographic and ethnic appellations which one meets lower down on the courses of the Amazon and its affluents, shows us such analogies, and similarities, that the common origin of the Jivaro and the tribes of the large Guarani group is, on this evidence alone, established with assurance."

25: Vigna--35-36 (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 174

The somatic character of the Jîbaro tempts us to believe that this group descended directly from the Mongolian [36] or yellow race. The shape of the eye and the facial outline instinctively suggest the oriental races. However, as the Jîbaros are a people without history, without literature, without monuments, and with very little written material and that of a fragmentary and variable nature, I believe it would be improper to set forth an hypothesis concerning their origin and derivation before undertaking an extensive comparative study.

25: Vigna--36-37 (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 174

A history, as such, of the Jíbaro people does not exist. They have no continuous, solid, and true legendary tradition which would provide the information from which their history [37] could be reconstructed.

26: Brüning--72 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 721, 174

There is an old irreconcilable enmity, in spite of their belonging to the same language group, between the Aguaruna Indians along the right Marañón tributaries and the Huambisa Indians along the upper Santiago. This feud seems to date back to a time prior to the conquest of Peru by the Spaniards. Evidently the Inca penetration went only as far as the right bank of the Marañón; this explains why the Aguarunas adopted many Quichua words. After the Spanish Conquest many of these Indians were more inclined to embrace Christianity. There were a number of missionary outposts along the right bank of the Marañón. It is true, the Spaniards penetrated also the territory on the left bank of the Marañón, but they were incessantly harrassed by the independent Jivaros, for which the so-called submissive Indians had to suffer. These mutual annoyances continue to this day though to a lesser degree.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

culture of an American Indian tribe more than four hundred years after Cortez and Pizarro.

It is not known how long the Jívaro have dwelt in the forest at the foot of the Andes. Their degree of isolation has been sufficient to make it difficult for most historical linguists[2] to assign Jivaroan dialects and languages (including the now extinct Palta) with certainty to any one of the recognized major language families of South American Indians. However, Greenberg[3] has suggested that Jívaro and Candoshi, along with several other languages, belong to a broad "Andean-Equatorial" family which comprises a great number of languages from northern to southern South America.

Archaeological evidence that I have recovered indicates that at least a portion of the present area occupied by the Jívaro was inhabited by pottery-making (and presumably horticultural) populations at least as early as two and a half millennia ago. Small test excavations in the middle Río Upano Valley, undertaken in 1957, revealed two different ceramic complexes in association with charcoal which provided radiocarbon dates of 609 B.C. ± 440 years and 1041 A.D. ± 160 years.[4] However, the pottery of these two prehistoric complexes is sufficiently different from present-day Jívaro ceramics that it seems difficult to establish a direct cultural connection with certainty. The earlier complex, named "Ipíamais," was discovered southeast of the mestizo village of Huambi in association with artificial earth mounds and ridges, evidence that suggests the possibility of a relatively dense population at that time. The later ceramic complex, termed "Yaunchu," was found near Sucúa and Macas and contained large numbers of specimens of the "red-banded incised" style of pottery recovered in a limited quantity by Collier and Murra[5] in the adjacent highland province of Azuay, which is the source of the Río Paute. It seems clear that the prehistoric populations

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174 residing in the Jívaro region were to some degree in contact with the peoples of the Andean highlands.

619 Today five Jivaroan tribes or dialect groups are known to inhabit the tropical forest of the Ecuadorian and Peruvian Amazon: the Jívaro[6]; the Achuara (Atchuara, Achual); the Huambisa; the Aguaruna; and the "Mayna"[7] (see Map 1). Of these, the Jívaro, or *untsuri huarā*, is the best known. This is the tribe which is usually referred to in the literature and locally simple as the "Jívaro," "Jíbaro," "Shuar" or "Shuara," while the other three Jivaroan tribes are usually locally called by their special names.

101 The term "shuara" (*huarā*) does not simply mean "Jívaro," as has sometimes been said, but means "man," "men" or "people" and is used by all Jivaroans except the Aguaruna to refer to any Indian or group of Indians (as opposed to whites, who are called *apachī*), without regard to cultural or linguistic affiliation. *Untsuri huarā*, meaning "numerous Indians," is a more accurate native designation for the Jívaro proper, which is applied to them by the Achuara (*achuarā huarā*) to the east. An alternative term, *muraiya huarā* ("hill Indians") is also applied to the Jívaro proper by the Achuara. The Huambisa (*tsunu huarā*) refer to the Jívaro proper as "*makas huarā*" or "*yukina huarā*,"[8] while the Aguaruna call 128 them the "*paruka liray*."[9] Since the native designations vary, and are not in common usage in the literature, the practice in the present study will be simply to use the term "Jívaro" when referring to this tribe. Other tribes, when mentioned, will be given their specific names, e.g., Achuara.

131 The Jívaro population, numbering an estimated 7,830 133 persons in 1956–57,[10] dwells chiefly between the Río Pastaza 161 in the north, and the upper Río Zamora in the south; and from about 1,200 meters altitude above sea level on the eastern slope of the Andes in the west to the Río Pangui

/text continues on p. 16/

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expeditions entered the region from the Andean highlands, but several ended disastrously and none of them resulted in permanent colonization.[21] One of the few "friendly" gestures reported for the tribe during this time occurred in 1767, when they gave a Spanish missionizing expedition "gifts," which included the skulls of Spaniards who had apparently been killed earlier by the Jívaro.[22]

Interestingly, the present-day Jívaro seem to have no memory of their uprising of 1599. The only oral tradition that I was able to obtain which apparently concerned the Spaniards was this, from one of my oldest informants:

> A very long time ago there were the *ai apačí* ["*ai*" white men]. They were many. They were all of bone to their elbows and to their knees. They could move their arms and legs only beyond their elbows and knees. They had shirts and pants. They were fierce and tall. There were many, many of them, and they had women and children. All were the same in not being able to move except for their forearms and lower legs. They didn't have hats, but wore something like the helmets of the [present-day Ecuadorian] soldiers. These men had machetes of iron that they used for killing. They carried their machetes on the left hip. The machetes were somewhat yellow. These machetes had handles of human bone. They said that they had killed many whites with their machetes. They also had shoes. These whites had *mai'u* . . . they rode on top of these. I think these must have been horses. The *huarí* were scared of them. These whites also had *muat*. I do not know what they were.

The informant explained that the bone extending to the knees and elbows of the *ai apačí* was something like the shell of a turtle. It seems evident that he was recounting a tradition concerning men in armor and helmets and carrying swords. Since they had shoes, the informant discounted the

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174 possibility that they were Macabeos, since the latter "did not have shoes." The *maču* whom the informant thought must be horses are clearly he-mules (Spanish: *macho*). The *mua* for which he could not suggest an identity undoubtedly are she-mules (Spanish: *mula*), since the Jívaro have difficulty pronouncing *l*. In view of the fact that "many, many" whites are referred to, including women and children, this account may actually concern the sixteenth-century occupation by the Spaniards. It is remarkable, however, that the informant had no information as to whether the Jívaro fought the *ai apačï*, although he thought it was possible.

175 648 From 1599 to 1870, Macas remained the only permanent white settlement near the Jívaro. This little community was linked to the outside world by means of a single foot trail to the highland city of Riobamba. There is even one Macabeo tradition that for some time after the 1599 uprising the people of Macas "lost" the trail and were completely cut off from the outside world. While the truth of this particular tradition is dubious, it does illustrate the Macabeos' sense of isolation. By the early nineteenth century, however, Macabeo men were regularly using the trail to make the sixteen-day round trip hike to Riobamba to obtain machetes, axes, cloth, needles, and firearms for their remote community.

175 648 72 The Jívaro apparently launched attacks repeatedly in the seventeenth and eighteenth century from the Río Paute region, forcing the Macabeos to relocate their village several times. The people of Macas, unlike the Jívaro, had a few firearms, and this advantage, it is believed by them, contributed importantly to their survival.[23] The Macabeos and Jívaro were still fighting in 1837, but by the mid-nineteenth century peaceful trade relations had been initiated between the two groups.[24]